COMPLICT OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN THEORIES OF MAN AND SOCIETY.

BY HENRY WARD BEECHER.

The Eighth Lecture of the Course before the Anti-Bavery Society was delivered last evening, at the Tabernacle, by the Rev. Henry Ward Bercher.
The subject, at the present time, is one of peculiar laterest, as touching the questions of Slavery and Krew-Nothingism, and, together with the popularity of the lecturer, drew together a house-fall of auditors

There were a number of gentlemen of distinction ecupying seats on the rostrum-among whom were Hon. Josbus R. Giddings, James Mott, of Philaelphia, and Mr. Dudley, of Buffalo. Mr. Beecher was introduced to the audience by

Mr. OLIVER JOHNSON, who raid:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The speaker who occupied this platform on Taceday evening last in the course of his remarks upon the wide degeneracy of the American clerky on the Slavery question, reminded as that there was in a Brooklyn pulpit, a MAR. We thou, ht you would be glad to see and hear mach a rara axis, and therefore have besongth him to eme hither to night to instruct us by his wisdom and move us by his eloquence. I trust that, whatever yes may think of some other parts of the lecture of Winnell Phillips, you will, when this evening's parformance is ever, he ready at least to confess that in what he said of the Brooklyn preacher he was not erformance is over, he ready at least to confess that a what he said of the Brooklyn preacher he was not sere eulopistic than truthful.

Mr. Bercher, on presenting himself, was received

with loud and hearty applause. He spoke as fol-

merg us for fifty years past have not been questions ndemental principles, but of the application of inciples already ascertained. Our debates have way of doing it-between living well and living good and better. We have discussed Policies, not fions have agitated men. The questions of human rights, of the nature and true foundations of Government, are to day, in Europe, where they were with

grandenr, in the struggles secretly or openly going on in Italy, Austria, Germany, and France, which never can belong to the mere questions of mode and manner which occupy us—boundary questions, banks, hariffs, internal improvements, currency; all very necessary but secondary topics. They touch nothing deeper than the pecket. In this respect, there would be a marked contrast between the subjects which secupy us, and the grander life-themes that dignify European thought, were it not for one subjectvery. That is the ONLY question, in our day and mour community, full of vital struggles turning upon

fundamental principles.

If Slavery were a plantation question, concerning only the master and the slave, disconnected from us, and isolated—then, though we should regret it, and apply moral forces for its ultimate remedy, yet, it weuld be, (as are questions of the same kind in India or South America,) remote, constituting a single ele to the core, and which Christianity is yet to shine through and change to light. But it is not a plantation-question. It is a national question. The dis putes implied by the violent relations between the owner and the chattel may only morally touch us. But the disputes between the touch us. But the disputes between the masters and the Government, and between the Government, impregnated with Slavery, and the Northern citizen, these touch us shurply, and if not wisely met, will yet scourge us with thoras! Indeed, I cannot say that I believe that New-England and the near North will be affected blocally, and immediately by an adverse issue of the great national struggle now going on. But the North will be an utterly dead force in the American nation. She will be relied up in a correr, like a cocoon waiting for its transmigration. The whole North will become provincial; it will be but a fringe to a nation whose least will bear in the South.

But New-England was net to the south.

provincial; it will be but a fringe to a nation whose heart will bear in the South.

But New England was not raised up by Divine Provence to play a mean part in the world's affairs.

Rumember that New England brought to America these principles which every State in the Union has more or less thoroughly adopted.

New England first formed those institutions which liberty requires for beneficent activity; and from her, both before and since the revolution, they have been copied throughout the land. Having given to America its ideas and its institutions, I think the North be bound to stand by them.

Until 1800, the North had distinctive national influence, and gave shape, in due measure, to national patrey, as she had before to national institutions.

Then she began to recede before the rising of

fleence, and gave stape, in the patter, as she had before to national institutions.

Then she began to recede before the rising of arother power. For the last fifty years, upon the national platform have stood arrayed two champions in mortal antagonism—New-England and the near North, representing personal freedom, civil hearty, universal education, and a religious spirit which always sympathises with men more than with Governments.

The New England theory of Government has at-ways been in its lement—first, independent men; then democratic townships; next republican States, and, in the end, a Federated Union of Republican States. Allber economies, her rebools, her policy, her indus-

All her economies, her schools, her policy, her industry, her weslih, her intelligence, have been at agreement with her theory and policy of Government. Yet, New-England, strong at home, compact, educated, right-minded; has gradually loct influence, and the whole North with her.

The Southern League of States, have been held together by the cohesive power of Common Wrong. Their industry, their policy, their whole interior, vital ecosomy, have been at variance with the apparent principles of their own State Governments, and with the Kational Institutions under which they exist. They have stood upon a narrow basis, always shaking mader them, without general education, without general wealth, without diversified industry. And yet, since the year 1800, they have standily prevailed against Representative New-England and the North. The Routh, the truest representation of Absolutism under republican forms, is mightier in our National Councils and Policy to-day than New-England, the mether and representative of true republicanism and the whole free North.

And now it has come to pass that, in the good envidence of Good another conventing has been

the whole free North.

And now it has come to pass that, in the good providence of God, another opportunity has been precented to the whole North to reassert her place and her influence, and to fill the institutions of our country with their original and proper blood. I do not desire that she should arise and put on her beautiful and her influence, and to fill the institutions of our country with their original and proper blood. I do not desire that she should arise and put on her beautiful garmente, because she is my mother, and your mother; net because her hills were the first which my childhood saw, that has never since beheld any half so dear; nor from any sordid ambition, that she should be great in this world's greatness; nor from any proface wish to abstract from the rightful place and influence of any State, or any section of our whole country. But I think that God sent New-England to these shores as his own messenger of mercy to days and ages, that have yet far to come ere they are born! She has not yet fold this Continent all that is in her heart. She has sat down like Bunyan's Plegrim, and slept in the bower by the way, and where she slept she has left her roll—God grant that she bath not lost it there while she slimbered!

By all the love that I bear to the cause of God, and the glory of his Church, by the yearnings which I have for the welfare of the human kind, by all the prephetic expectations which I have of the destiny of this land, God's Almoner of Liberty to the World, I desire to see Old Representative New England, and the affiliated North, rouse up and do their first works.

Is it my excited ear that hears an airy phantasm whit pering! or do I hear a solemn voice crying out, "Aruet Shinet Hy light is come, and the agitation of it in the North needless and injurious to our peace and the country's welfare. Whatever may have been negeried, by many, as sectional, and the agitation of it in the North needless, and injurious to our peace and the country's welfare. Whatever may have been the evils, the agitation has only come through men, not from them. It is of God. It is the anderheaving of Providence. Mariuers might as well blame you for the swing and toos of their oraft when these troop in or march out of your harbor, as us, for heaving to that tide which God swells under us. The in the ocean and in human affairs are f

men have had but one way of estimating the value of man. He was to them simply a creature of time, and to be judged in the scientific method, by his pic-somesa. The Greeks and the Romans had no better somesa. The Greeks and the Romans had no better way. They did not know enough of his origin, his nature, or his destiny, to bring these into second, in estimating man. Accordingly they could do no better than to study him in his developments and rank him by the rowns which he manifested. Now, if a botter had been been and the botter than to study him in his developments and rank him belong to one season, whose blossom and fruit belong to another, as if that were the whole of it which the first year produced, he would commit the same mistake which the heathen idea of man commits in measuring and estimating a being whose true life comes hereafter, by the developments which he makes in only this world.

From this earthly side of man springs the most important practical results. For, the doctrine of man, simply as he is in this life, logically deduces Absolution and Aristocracy.

simply as he is in this life, logically deduces Absolution and Aristocracy.

If the power of producing effects is the criterion of value, the few will always be the most valuable, and the miss, relatively, subordinate, and the wesk and lowest will be left helplessly worthless.

And the mass of all the myriads that do live, are of no more account than working animals; and there is, on such a theory, no reason, a priori, why they should not be controlled by superior men, and made to do that for which they seem the best fitted—Work and Duddery! Only long experiment could teach a doc trine contrary to the logical presumption arising from weakness. There could be no doctrine of human rights. It would be simply a doctrine of human forces. Right would be a word as much out of place as among birds and besits. Authority would go with as among birds and besets. Authority would go with productive greatness, as gravity goes with mass in matter. The whole chance of Right and the whole theory of Liberty, springs from that part of man that lies beyond this life.

As a material creature, man ranks among physical forces. Rights come from his spring to be a supported by the come from his spring to be a supported by the come from his spring to be a supported by the come from his spring to be a supported by the come from his spring to be a supported by the come from his spring to be a supported by the come from his spring to be a supported by the come from his spring to be a supported by the come from his spring to be a supported by the come from his spring to be a supported by the come from his spring to be a supported by the company to the com

lies beyond this life.

As a material creature, man renks among obysical forces. Rights come from hisspiritual nature The body is of the earth, and refurns to earth, and is judged by earthly measures. The soul is of God, and returns to God, and is judged by Divine estimates. And this is the reason why a free, unobstructed Bible always works toward himan rights. It is the only basis on which the poor, the ignorant, the weak, the laboring masses can extrench against oppression.

What, then, is that theory of man which Christianity gives forth!

It regards men not as a perfect thing, put into life to bloseom and die, as a perfect flower doth. Man is a seed, and birth is planting. He is in life for cultivation, not exhibition; he is here chiefly to be acted on, not to be characteristically an agent. For, though man is also an actor, he is yet more a recipient. Though he produces effects, he receives a thousand fold more than he produces. And he is to be estimated by his capacity of receiving, not of doing. He has he that radius in what he can not it all has in what he is capable of having done to him. The eye, the car, the tongee, the nerve of touch, are all simple receivers. The understanding, the affections, the morel sentiments, all, are, primarily and characteristically, recipients of influence, and only secondarily agents. Now, how different is the value of ore, dead in its silent waiting piaces from the wrought blade, the all but living engine, and the carved and curious utensi!!

Of how little value is a ship standing helpless on the stocks—but half-built, and yet building—to one who has no knowledge of the ocean, or of what that helpless hulk will be come the moment she slides into her element, and rices and falls upon the flood with joyous greating!

The value of an acorn is not what it is, but whas it shall be when nature has brooded it, and brought it up, and a hundr

The value of an accorn is not what it is, but what it shall be when nature has brooded it, and brought it up, and a hundred years have sung through its branches and left their strength there!

He, then, that judges man by what he can do, judges him in the seed. We must see him through some lenser—we must prefigure his immortality. While, then, his industrial value in life must decond on what he can do, we have here the beginning of a moral value which bears no relation to his power, but to his future destiny.

This view assumes distinctness and intensity, when we edd to it the relationship which subsists between man and his Maker.

an end his Maker.
This relationship begins in the fact that we are reated in the divine image; that we are connected with God, therefore, not by Government alone, but

by nature.

This initial fruth is made radiant with mesning, by the teaching of Christ arity that every human being is dear to God: a teaching which stands upon that platform, built high above all buman deeds and his-tories, the sovent, incarnation, passion, and death of

platform, built high above all human deeds and histories, the advent incarnation, passion, and death of Christ, as a Savior of Men.

The race is a brotherhood; God is the Father, Love is the law of this great human commonwealth, and Love knows no servitude. It is that which gilds with liberty whatever it touches.

One more element to human liberty is contributed by Christianity, in the solemn development of man's accountability to God, by which condition hereafter springs from pure character here.

by Christianity, in the solsmin development of man a accountability to God, by which condition hereafter springs from pure character here.

However heavy that saying is, every one of us shall give an account of humally before God—in it is the life of the race.

You cannot present man as a subject of Divine government, held responsible for results, compared with which the most moment as earthly deeds are insignificant, plied with influences accumulating from earth in the cracle, gentle as a mother's voice singing lullaby, go on upward, taking everything as they go, till they reach the whole power of God; and working out results that outlest time and the sun, and revolve for ever in flaming circuits of disaster, or in sacred cheles of celestial bliss; you cannot present man as the center and subject of such an august and eternal drama, without giving him something of the grandeur which revides in God himself, and in the aphores of immentality!

When shall trifle with such a creature, full bound.

drama, without giving him something of the grandour which resides in God himself, and in the sphores of immerishity!

Who shall tride with such a creature, full bound upon such an errand through life, and swelling forth osnich a destiny? Clear the place where he stands!—give him room and help, but no hinderance, as he equips for eternity!—loosen the bonds of man, for God girds him!—take off all impediments, for it is his life and death struggle for immortality!

That this effect of accountability to God was felt by the inspired writers, cannot be doubtful to any who weigh such language as this:

So then every one of as shall give account of himself to God. Let us not, therefore, included any the becomes sacred to his fellow. The more grand and far-reaching are the divine claims, the greater is our conception of the scope and worth of being. Human rights become respected in the ratio in which human responsibility is feat. Whatever objections men may hold to Puritanism—their theory since the days of St. Augustin has constantly produced tendencies to liberty and a prevalent belief in the natural rights of man—and on account of that very feature which to many, has been so offensive—its rigorous doctrine of human accountability. Here, then, is the idea of man which Christianity gives in contrast with the inferior and degrading heathen notions of man. He is a being but begins on earth—seed only planted here for its first growth. He is connected with God, not as all matter us, by proceeding from creative power, but by partaking the divine nature, by the declared personal affection of God, witnessed and sealed by the presence and sufferings of the world Redeemer. He is a being upon whom is rolled the responsibility of character and eternal destiny! Of such a creature it were as foolish to take an estimate, by what he is and what he can do in this life, as it would be to estimate by an eagle's egg, what the old eagle is worth, with wings outspread far above the very thunder, or coning down upon its quarry as the thunder

and get nutture.

A Christianity that takes care of the rich, the strong, the governing class, and neglects the poor, and knornat, and nursined, is the antitype of Christ.

It is in this direction only, that the declaration of

man sustains to God, to eteraity, and to future deguity—all are equally subjects of these. Man is ungrown. All his fruit is green. If he must stand by what he is, how surely must he be given over to weakness, to abuse, to oppressions. The weak are a natural prey to the strong, and superiority is a charter for tyranny. But it he be an heir, waiting for an inheritance of God, eternal in the heavens, wee be to him that dare lay a figger on him because he is a minor!

I dwe it he longer upon this view because it carries the world's heart in it. We must deepen our thinkings of man, and hore for the springs of liberty far below the drainings of surface strats, down deep, Artesian, till we strike something that shall be beyond winter or summer, frost or drouth.

I do not believe that there is a doctrine of individual rights nor of civil liberty that can stand outside

Im!

A Christianity that tells man what his origin is—of God, his destiny, to God again; his errand on earth, to grow toward goodness, and make the most of hinself—this Christianity is rank rebellion in despotisms, and insurrection on plantations. It cannot be

isms, and issurrection on plantations. It cannot be preached there.

These two radical theories of man—man, a physical creature to be judged by effects produced in Time; or man, a spiritual creature, to be judged by the development to which he is destined, are at the root of all the antogonisms between the spirit of northern institutions and couthern institutions: northern policy and scuthern policy. In the North, it is the public sentiment of the people, that all men are born free and equal; that every man has an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, forfeited only by crime. The North believe that personal and political liberty are not only the rights of man, but their accessity, that man cannot thrive nor develop, with the true proportions of man hood, without liberty. It is the northern sentiment that a man must be prepared for liberty, and that the act of birth is that preparation; that no creature lives which is the better for oppression, and who will not be the better for freedom, which is the ratural air appointed for the roal's breathing. The North disdains every pretense that men are injured by sudden liberty. A famished man may injue himself by ever-feeding; but that is an argument not against food, but against famine. It is the northern sentiment, and justly deduced from the Christian theory of man, that society should redeem all its own children from ignorance, should secure their growth, equip them for citizenship, and make all the influences of reciety course to the benefit of the mass of men. The southern sentiment is the reverse of this. It holds that all men are not been free and equal; that men have not an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and that men are not in their very constitution fitted for liberty, and benefited by it. They hold that liberty, and benefited by it. They hold that hisery is an attribute of power; that it is a blossom, which belongs to racea, and not to mankind; that a part were born to rule, and a part were ordaine gereous, and should be all the top is priviler and authority, the bottom labor and obesience.

There are the reduced theories of the respective sections
of the land. Men siten are profoundly ignorant of
the principles which control their policy, as a ship is
unconscious of the rudder that steers her. Many are
found, both North and South, whose confluct overrules their theory, and who are better or worse than
their belief. There are southern men who are more
generous than their theory, and there are northern
men who are grossly untrue to the nonthern theory,
which, with their lips they profess. There are southern men with northern consciences, and there are
northern men with southern consciences. But, in
the nasin, these respective theories reign and regulate public procedure. There is not a man so poor in
the North, or so ignerant, or so useless, as not
to be regarded as a Men, by religion, by civil law,
and by public opinion. Seifishness and pride, avarice and cunting, anger or lust, may prey upon the
heedlessness or helplessness of many. Society may
be full of evils. But all these things are not se-

es bathe seciety from top to bottom! The rich, learned, the refined, the strong, may know how to be a better use of the air, but they have no more

Death levels it all down sgain. Their children isberit nothing. They must earn for themselves. There is no division of society into orders, by which some have provilege and some have not, some have proviled and some have not, some have opertunity and advantages which others have not.

In the South, society is divided into two great and prominent classes, the railing and the obeying—the thinking and the working. The labor of the South is performed by three million creatures who represent the heathen idea of man.

All the benefits that have accured to man from Christicnity, are appropriated and monopolized by the white populative.

Here is a seam that no sophistry can sew up. Here is a society or anized, not on an idea of equal rights, and of inequalities only as they pring from difference of worth, but on an idea of permanent, political, organized inequality among men. They carry it so far that the theory of Slave law regards the slave not as an inferior man, overned, for his owa good as well as for the benefit of the society at large, but it pronounces him, in reiterated forms, not a man at all, but a chatted.

When a community of States, by the most potential voice of Law, says to the whole body of its laboring population. Ye are not men and shall not be; ye are chatted—it is absurd to speak about kind treatment—about happiness. It is about cartle that they are talking! Our vast body of laboring men do not yet feel the force of such a theory of human society. But, if that political system, which has openly been making such procigious strides for the last fifty years, and effecting, secretly, a yet greater change in men's ideas of society and government shall gain complete assect of society and government shall gain complete assect

I. Work Among us, and from the beginning. Work has been hororable to dig, to hew, to build, to reap, to wield the hammer at the forge, and the saw at the bench. It has been honorable became our people have been laught that each man is set to make the most of himself. The crown for every victory gained in a struggle of skill or industry over matter is placed upon the soul; and thus emong a free people industry becomes eineation. It is the peculiarity of Northern labor, that it thinks. It is Intelligence working out through the hands. There is more real thought in a Yankee's hard than in a Southerner's head. This is not true of a class, or of single individuals, or of single States. It springs from our ideas of manhood. These influences, acting through generations, have been wrought into the very blood. It is in the stock. Go where you will a Yankee is a working creature. He is the honey here of mankind. Only Work is royal among us. It carries the sceptre, and changes all nations by its touch, opening its treasures, and disclosing its secrets.

more and winter. And as is Nature, so, in the North, saw, and the distributive benefits of coclety. They bathe seekly from top to bottom! The rich, which we have a control of the property of

them both.

In such a Society, there cannot be a Common School, in any such sense as we mean it. Indeed there cannot be general education in any State where he norance is the legal condition of one-half the population as is the case in many Southern States. Ignorance is an institution in the South. It is a political necessity. It is as much provided for by legislation and by public sentiment, and guarded by enactments, as intelligence is in the North. It must be The restrictions which keep it from the slave will keep it from the whites, excepting, always, the few who live at the top. There cannot be an atmosphere of intelligence. Shaves would be in danger of breathing that. There cannot be a common public sentiment, a common school, nor common education. Knowledge is power, nor only, but powder, putting the South in the risk of being blown up, by careless handling and too great abandance.

III. Closely connected with this, and sorioging from the same causes, is a contrast between the North and the South, in respect to free speech and open discussion by tip and by type.

The theory of the North is, that every man has the right, on every subject, to the freest expression of his opinions, and the fullest right to urge them upon the convictions of others. It is not a per mission of law; it is the inherent right of the lactivitial. It is a perpetual education of the people, and a

It is the heavy of the North that society is as much a gainer by this freedom of discussion as is the individual.

It is a perpetual education of the people, and a safeguard to the State. There is the utmost latitude of speech and discussion among our citizens, the mest dignified Court that ever sat in Boston would become an object of universal mertimost and riddicule, that should press me to arrest and cause to be individually an introduced any man for free speaking in old Fancial H slit. Merriment, I say, for who would not laugh at a policy speech and gainer free speaking in old Fancial H slit. Merriment, I say, for who would not laugh at a policy of the state, and fix his net to each the sum, and regulate that indiscreet shining. Darkness and silence are excellent for knews and translate their indiscreet shining. Darkness and silence are excellent for knews and translate the specific of our people, the theory of our civil jointy and the rights of rank of the past, the spitiof our people, the theory of our civil jointy and the rights of rank of the past, it would be an traptica, and fragmentary Junges, Courts and their minuous would be made to a furnity of the same and individual man su cosel, and make bearway against tree speech, and put it in jectatory, it would convaled the very feature sork of society. There would be an arpitice, and fragmentary Junges, Courts and their minuous would have been at the spition of the past what they think, and may party must be interestly American that can afford to destroy the very foundarion American principle that public questions. The grand American doctine that men may speak what they think, and may party must be interestly American that can afford to destroy to very foundarion American principle that public questions. The parad American doctine that men may speak what they think, and may party must be interestly American that can afford to destroy to very foundarion American principle that public questions. The parad American doctine that men may speak that they think

does hold, a real-cally opposite practice in respect to rights of speech and freedom of the press.

There is not freedom of opinion in the South, and there cannot be.

Men may there talk of a thousand things—of all religious doctriner, of literature, of act, of public political measures—but no man has liberty to talk as he pleases at court the structure of southern tife had southern internal questions that rearching investigation and apply to the real faces of southern life had southern internal questions that rearching investigation and public exposure which in the North, brings every pressible questions to the bor of public opinion, and makes society boil dike a poil.

Yes, you may speak of Slevery, if you will defered it; you may preach about it, if you shingle its roof with scripture texts, but you may not talk, nor preach, nor print aboutton doctrines, though you be lieve them with the intensity of inspiration?

The re-son given is, that it will sticup insurrection. And so it will. It is said that free speech is hold among the structure of the south into jeopardy; that, in said-defence, they must in it and regula a the expression of opinion. Hur what is that theory of Government, and what is that state of society under it, in which free speech and free discussion are dangerous! It is the basat of the North, not alone that speech and discussion are free, but that we have a society constructed in every particular, when an and that we do, and everything to a very large and efforts, for our face questions for all that we believe and all that we do, and everything to a very feature of life. We say —probe it, question it, put fire to it. We ask the ripert variety of the present to text and analyze it. We challenge the whole would increase or recome to the west of the whole would increase or recome and the representation of the present to text and analyze it. We challenge the whole would increase and the product it was a manner and the product of the say in that the product it was and they know against it. We cha thors that will stand public and private discussion—
they have not. We will not have a law, or custom, or economy, which cannot be defended against the firest inquiry. Such a rule would cut them lavel as mowed meadow! They live in a crater, forever drading the signs of activity. They live in a powder megasine. No wonder they feer light and fire. It is the plea of Wrong since the world began. Discussion would meet the Casr: a free press would detirent the ignoble Napolesher; free speech would revolutionize Rome. Freedom of thought and freedom of expression! they are mighty champions, that go with unsheathed awords the waild over, to redress the weak, to right the wronged, to pull down evil and build up good. And a State that will be damaged by fire speech ought to be dimaged. A King that cannot keep his seat before free speech ought to be unreated. An order or an institution that dreads freedom of the press has reason to dread it. If the South would be revolutionized by free discussion, how intensity occas that fact show her dying accid of revolution! She is a dungeon, full of damps and dewhair. She needs light and ventilation. And the only objection is, that it there were light and sir let in, it would no onger be a dangeon.

IV. There is a noticeable contrast between Northern and Southern irees of Religion.

We believe God's revealed word to contain the infineree appointed for the regeneration and full development of every human being, and that it is to be employed as God's universal stimulant to the human soul, as ag and light are the universal stimulants of vereiation.

We preach it to arouse the whole soul; we preach

We preach it to arouse the whole soul; we preach

vegetation.

We preach it to arouse the whole soul: we preach it to fire the intellect, and give it wings by which to doon pers knowledge; we preach it to touch every feeling with refinement, to softee redenesses and anrich affections; we build the family with it; we sanctify love, and purge out lust; we polish every relation of life; we inspire a cheerful industry and whet the edge of enterprise, and then limit them by the bonds of justice and by the moderation of a faith which looks into the future and the eternal. We teach each man that he is a child of God, that he is personally one for whom the Savier died; we teach him that he is known and spoken of in heaven, his name called; that angels are sent out upon his path to guard and to educate him we swell within him to the uttermost every a-piration, catching the first thame of youth and feeding it, until the whole heart glows like an altar, and the soul is a temple bright within, and sweet, by the incense-moke and aspiring fiame of perpetual offerings and divine sacrifices. We have never done with him. We lead him from the cradle to beyhood; we take him then into manhood, and guide him through all its passes; we console him in age, and then staod, as he dies, to prophesy the chaing heaven, until the fating eye flashes again, and the unhearing ear is full again; for from the other side ministers of grave are coming, and he beholds them, and counds on earth and sights are not so much lost as evallowed up in the glory and the melody of the heavenly joy!

Now tell me whether there is any preaching of the

are not so much lost as evallowed up in the glory and
the melody of the heavenly joy!

Now tell me whether there is any preaching of the
Gospef to the slave, or whether there can be, and he
yet remain a slave! We preach the Gospel to arone
men, they to subdue them; we to awaten, they to
soothe; we to inspire self reliance, they submission;
we to drive them forward in growth, they to repress
and prime down growth; we to convert them into
men, they to make them content to be beaute of burden! men, they to make them content to be beasts of bur-den! Is this all that the Gospel has? When credulous

ministers assure us that slaves have the means of grace, do they mean that they have such teaching as schave? Or that there is any such steal in preaching? The power of rehigion with us is employed to set men on their feet; to make them fertile, self-enetaining,

noble, virtuous, strong, and to build up society of men, each one of whom is large, strong, capacities of room, and filled with versatile powers. Religion with them does no such thing. In feet

Religion with them does no such thing. It defit the reverse.

With them it is Herod casting men into prison. With us it is the angel, appearing to lead them out of prison and set them free! In short, religion with us is emancipation and liberty; with them it is bondage and contextment.

It is very plain that while nominally republican institutions exist in both the North and the South, they are animated by a very different spirit, and need for a different purpose. In the North, they aim at the welfare of the whole people; in the South they are the instruments by which a few control the many. In the North, they tend toward Democracy; in the South, toward Olgarchy.

It is equally plain that while there may be a union between Northern and Seuthern States, it is extend, or commercial, and not internal and vital, springing from common illess common suds, and common sympathics. It is a union of merchants and politicious, and not of the people.

But they are politically united. They come to getter into one Congress. There these antagonistic principles which creep with subtle influence through the very veloc of their respective States, break out into open collision upon every question of national police. And, since the world began a republican spirit is unfit to secure power. It generates it in the many. But an aristocratic spirit always has astinute and impulse toward power. It seeks and grasps it a naturally as a hungry flow prowls and grasps its pray. For fifty years the imperious spirit of the South has cought and gained power. It would have been of but little consequence were that power still rogubilican. The sect of empire may be indifferently on the Massachusetts Bay or on the Ohio, on the Lakes or on the Guif, if it be the same suppire, acting in good

It is not the question whether a Northern party should be a party of philanthropy, or of propagasdism, or of abolition. It is simply a question whether, for fear of these things, they will ignore and rub out of their creed every principle of human rights!

I am not aireid of foreigners among us. Nevertheless, our politicians have so abused us through them, that I am glad that a movement is on foot to regulate the conduct of new-comers among us, and oblige them to pass through a longer probation before they become citizens. In so far as I understand the practical measures proposed and set forth in the Message of the Governor of Massachusetts, I approve them.

But I ask you, fellow-citizens, whether the simple accident of birth is a basis broad enough for a permanent National party? Is it a principle, even? It is

a mere fact.

Ought we not to look a little at what a man is, ofter he is born, as well as at the piace where! Especially, when we remember that Arnold was born in Connecticut and La Fayette in France.

If then, a party is American, ought it not to be because it represents those principles which are fandamental to American Institutions and to American policy! principles which stand in contrast with European Institutions and policy!

Which of these two theories is the American! The North has the theory, the North has the theory, the North has the theory, the North has the theory.

Which of these two theories is the American! The North has one two theories is the American! The North has one theory, the South another, which of them is to be called the American idea! Which is American—Northern ideas or Southern ideas! that which declares all men free, &c., or that which declares all men free, &c., or that which declares the superior races free, and the inferior Slave! That which occlares the right of every man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—or that which declares the right of strength and intelligence to subcritically the strength of the strength

Government and Republic—or that which organizer Society as an Aristocracy, and Government as an Ofigarchy!

Which shall it be—that of organized New-England townships, achools, and churches—that resisted taxtion without representation—that covered Basical Station with tea, as if all China had shook down has because there—which spake from Fancuil Hall, and echoed from Bunker Hill; or that policy which landed slaves on the Chesspeake—that has changed Old Virginia from a land of heroes into a breeding ground of slaves—that has booken down beandaries, and carried war over our lines, not for liberty, but for more territory for slaves to work, that the owners might multiply, and the anistocracy of America stand on the shores of two oceans, an aubroises bound all between!

If a National American party is ever formed, by leaving out the whole question of Human Rights if will be what a man would be—bit soul left out!

An American National party—Liberty left out!

An American party—Human Rights left out!

An American party—Human Rights left out!

Gentlemen, such a party will stink with dissolution before you can get it finished. No Masonry can make it solid—to art can secure it. No anchor that sus ever forged in infernal stythy can go deep emorph is to political mud to hold it!

If you rear up an empty name; if you take that revered name American all the world over radiant and revered, as the symbol of human rights and human happiness—if you sequester and stuff than name with the effets doctrines of deepotism, do yet befleve you can supplicate from any gods the best